

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 32316

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, FR

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS APPROVES MITTERRAND LINE ON
EUROPE

POUCHED: BORDEAUX, LYON, MARSEILLE, MARTINIQUE, NICE, STRASBOURG

1. FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY (PS) HELD AN EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS ON EUROPE IN PARIS DECEMBER 15-16. THE CONGRESS RESULTED FROM AN ATTEMPT BY THE LEFT-WING CERES GROUP TO GAIN PARTY APPROVAL FOR ITS EXTREMIST LINE ON EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION, WHICH PROJECTED IMPLEMENTING SOCIALISM AS PRE-CONDITION TO UNITED EUROPE. A FEW WEEKS AGO PS FIRST SECRETARY FRANCOIS MITTERRAND THREATENED TO RESIGN OVER THIS ISSUE, THEN WITHDREW HIS RESIGNATION, FORCING THE PARTY TO CONVENE THE CONGRESS TO DECIDE THE PARTY LINE.

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2. THE CONGRESS WAS MARKED BY THE COMPLETE DOMINATION OF MITTERRAND AND HIS GROUP. THE FINAL MOTION, APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY,

COMMITTS THE PS TO WORK TOWARD CONSTRUCTING EUROPE, ONE WHICH WILL FOLLOW ITS OWN WAY TO BUILD SOCIALISM. THE PS DECLARES ITSELF READY TO PARTICIPATE IN BUILDING EUROPE EVEN THOUGH THIS WOULD NOT IMMEDIATELY BE A SOCIALIST EUROPE, ON CONDITION THAT THE EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION PROCESS INVOLVE NO LOWERING OF LIVING STANDARDS FOR WORKERS, THAT*EUROPE E OLVE TOWARDS INDEPENDENC OF BOTH SUPER POWER BLOCS AND THAT THE DELEGATION OF POWERS TO THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS NOT LIMIT THE ABILITY OF AN EVENTUAL LEFT-WING GOF TO IMPLEMENT ITS "COMMON PROGRAM."

3. MITTERRAND'S SPEECH WAS THE CONGRESS' HIGHLIGHT. FOR HIM, WHAT MADE THE TWO WORLD BLOCS DISTINCT WAS THT EACH HAD AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM, AN IDEOLOGY AND MILITARY FORCE. EUROPE MUST EVENTUALLY HAVE THESE THREE ATTRIBUTES. IN DESCRIBING THE "AMERICAN WORLD" OF WHICH FRANCE IS A PART, MITTERRAND STRESSED ITS ELEMENTS OF FREEDOM AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, ADDING THAT HE IS NOT ASHAMED, IN DECEMBER 1973, TO STATE THAT HE IS COMMITTED TO THIS TYPE OF FREEDOM. HOWEVER, MITTERRAND DID CRITICIZE SUCH AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS AS THE CIA AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, AND HE DID AGREE WITH THE NECESSITY "TO CUT THE AMERICAN UMBILICAL CORD". HE ALSO OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS NO IMPOSSIBLE FOR EUROPE TO DISENGAGE ITSELF FROM THE AMERICAN WORLD WITHOUT BECOMING PART OF THE SOVIET WORLD. MITTERRAND RECOMMENDED THE BUILDING OF EUROPE THROUGH ITS EXISTING INSTITUTIONS, STRENGTHENING THEM, DEMOCRATIZING THEM AND CHANGING THEM EVENTUALLY, WHERE NECESSARY, TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF A SOCIALIST EUROPE. TURNING TO DOMESTIC MATTERS, MITTERRAND STATED THAT 1974 WILL NOT BE AN EASY YEAR FOR THE PS, SINCE THE PRESENT REGIME, WEAK AND DIVIDED, WOULD BE ABLE TO UNITE ONLY IN ATTACKING THE LEFT. HE CONCLUDED WITH A CALL FOR CONTINUED AND STRENGTHENED UNITY AMONG THE THREE CONSTITUENTS OF THE UNITED LEFT; THE PS, THE COMMUNISTS AND THE LEFT RADICALS.

4. MITTERRAND'S SPEECH, RECEIVED AS STATESMANLIKE AND MEASURED BY THE DELEGATES, TYPIFIED THE CONGRESS. HE DELEGATES WERE MUCH QUIETER AND MORE SERIOUS THAN USUAL, PARTLY THE RESULT OF THE CONFIDENTIAL
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FACT THAT THE CONGRESS DEALT WITH ONLY ONE THEME, A FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE. THOUGH CERES SPOKESMEN HAD THEIR SAY, IT WAS CLEARLY A MITTERRAND SHOW. THE SOCIALIST LEADER EMRGES WITH HIS OWN PRESTIGE WITHIN THE PARTY FURTHER ENHANCED. IT MUST BE CLEAR TO MOST SOCIALISTS NOW THAT THE SUCCESS OF THEIR PARTY IS DUE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO THE PERSONALITY AND PRESENCE OF ITS LEADER. WITHOUT MITTERRAND, PS WOULD DISSOLVE INTO FRACTIONS, THE COMMON FRONT WITH THE PCF AND EFT RADICALS WOULD COLLAPSE, AND THE LEFT'S CHANCES TO GAIN POWER WOULD EVAPORATE. IN SHORT,

THE CONGRESS HAS IMPROVED STILL FURTHER MITTERRAND'S
IMAGE AS A NATIONAL STATESMAN AND POTENTIAL PRESIDENT.
IRWIN

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